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I.—Comparative Education in 1862.

UNDER this title Mr. W. L. Sargant recently addressed a letter to the Editor of the Birmingham Daily Post. The subject is important, but the accuracy of the test of education by marks in the marriage register was controverted, so far as the cotton manufacturing towns of Lancashire were concerned, by the Rev. W. N. Molesworth, of Rochdale, when this topic was under discussion by Section F of the British Association, at Manchester, in 1861, on the ground that from causes which he stated many persons of both sexes who could write tolerably well were lea to make their marks on the marriage registers.

"For the first time we are able to ascertain the state of education in our towns; the Registrar-General, in his last report (for 1862), having given the number of signatures and of marks to the marriage registers in every district. Hitherto we have had the information for counties only. I have calculated the percentage for the principal towns.

"I believe these figures to be unusually trustworthy. It is alleged indeed, that some nervous persons sign with a mark although they can write, and that some young women who can write decline to do it when their bridegrooms cannot do the same. But such peculiarities will be found as much in one town as in another, and therefore do not disturb the proportions, nor injure the results for the purpose of comparison.

Arranged according to Excellence. Of 100 Persons Married, there Signed their Names—

	Men and Women together.	Men only.	Women only.		Men and Women together.	Men only.	Women only.
In England and Wales	72	76	67	Leicester Coventry Sunderland	73 71 71	81 79 80	65 63 63
Cheltenham Portsmouth	89 89	88 90	89 88	Nottingham Birmingham	70 69	78 74	62 63
Chester District London Brighton	88 86	95 90 86	81 83 87	Manchester Leeds Yarmouth	69 68 68	82 77 69	55 59 67
Preston	0.0	83 86	90 86	Liverpool Macclesfield	67 67	75 77	58 57
Southampton Bath Derby	85 80 80	85 85 85	85 74 75	Sheffield Gateshead Salford	66 65 62	74 74 74	57 57 49
YorkBristol	78	83	74	Stockport Bradford	60 59	73 75 71	46 43
Hull Newcastle-on-Tyne Norwich	76 75 74	84 82 79	69 69 69	Bolton Wolverhampton . Oldham	56 55 53	60 70	4F 49 36
Plymouth	74	79	70	Blackburn	52	70	34

"The difference of education among the women is far greater than among the men. The *men* only vary from 60 in Wolverhampton to 95 in Chester (58 per cent.), while the *women* vary 160 per cent., viz., from 34 in Blackburn to 90 in Preston, and 89 in Cheltenham.

"The textile districts are worst as to women, Blackburn having only 34, Oldham 36, Bolton 41, Bradford 45; and if we omit Wolverhampton, they are worst as to men also. It is disappointing to find that the Factory Act, which shortens the children's hours of labour, and exacts education, should have done so little. Still it may be asked—What would have been the state of things without the Act?

"It is agreeable to see that the pleasure-seeking places are high, as Cheltenham, Brighton, Bath. Many old historical towns are high, as Portsmouth, London, Preston, Southampton, Derby, York, Bristol, Hull. More modern places, with a fast increasing population, have great difficulties to meet. Churches and schools are not built in advance, but always lag behind, and in the meantime the children are neglected.

"The hardware towns have no Factory Act to compel attendance at school; yet their position is at least as good as that of the Lancashire and Yorkshire towns; for Birmingham equals Manchester, and is just above Leeds; Sheffield is above Salford, Bradford, and others; and even Wolverhampton surpasses Oldham and Blackburn. There is one great difference, however—that in the textile districts the women are strikingly below the men, Blackburn having only 34 women for 70 men, a difference of 36; and even Manchester having only 55 women for 80 men, a difference of 25; whereas, in Birmingham the difference between the sexes is only 9; in Wolverhampton, 11; and in Sheffield, 17.

"Liverpool is higher than we should have expected, remembering its bad condition as to mortality and crime. It has been suggested that the lowest people there—the Irish—have been educated at home under the National System.

"Chester and Portsmouth are singularly high; so is Coventry, as a place employing great numbers of women; and Leicester and Nottingham are in the same category.

"Preston we are accustomed to think of as a mere manufacturing place. We should not, therefore, have anticipated its position near the head of the list; but should have rather looked for it at the other end, near Bradford and Bolton. Preston, however, is an ancient place, recorded as formerly 'the genteelest town in Lancashire,' and has not increased very fast."

* * * * * * * *

II.—Post Office Savings Banks.

THE subjoined extract from the last report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies in England, affords satisfactory evidence of the favour which the Postal Banks have been looked upon by the public.

- "The Post Office Banks continue to progress most satisfactorily. Commencing on the 16th September, 1861, with 301 banks, their number has gradually increased until it has now reached 3,064. These banks are spread over all parts of the United Kingdom, and they are open daily for from six to eight hours, for the transaction of husiness
- "From their commencement, in September, 1861, these banks have opened accounts with more than 500,000 depositors, and they have closed about 112,000 accounts.
- "They have received 2,130,000 deposits, amounting (with interest) to 6,940,000l., and they have repaid 2,452,000l. in 460,000 sums.
- "Out of nearly 7,000,000l. sterling paid into these savings banks, only 1,100,000l. has been transferred from the older savings banks, so that it is obvious that the post office banks have created an almost entirely new business, and by the facilities which they have provided for the public in every town and village in the

United Kingdom, they have induced large numbers of people to become depositors who had no opportunity of doing so before the establishment of the postal banks.

"The following document is a remarkable one, exhibiting the enormous amount of business transacted in so short a space of time by these banks; but it is especially remarkable for exhibiting the fact that this gigantic organisation has been established and carried on at a profit, after paying and providing for all its expenses.

"An account of all deposits received and paid under the authority of the Act 24 Vict., cap. 14, during the year ended 31st December, 1863, and of the expenses incurred from the commencement of business, on 16th September, 1861, to 31st December, 1863, together with a statement of the total amount due at the close of the year 1863 to all depositors."

(A.)—Account of all Deposits received and paid from 1st January to 31st December, 1863.

olst Decen	ioer, 1863.
Balance brought forward 1,698,302 To cash received from depositors from 1st January, to 31st December, 1863	By repayments from 1st January to 31st December, 1863, viz.:— £ Cash paid 1,017,494 Warrants issued but not cashed at date
4,403,035	4,403,035
Balance due at the close of the year to al Moneys remitted to the Commissioners f of the National Debt, from 16th Sep 31st December, 1862	Savings off the sat the iod from er, 1862. 1,634,967 1,634,967 1,611,945 1,611,94
Net amount lodged with the Commi Reduction of the National Debt for in Add— Interest accruing to depositors up to 1863, including the interest which acc 31st December, 1862 Balance remaining on 31st December, 1 over for investment	31st December, crued up to the 76,826

(C.)—Account of Charges of Management and of Expenses incurred for Post Office Savings Banks, from their Establishment on the 16th September, 1861, to the 31st December, 1863.

Charges and expenses for the period, from 16th September, 1861, to 31st December, 1862	æ 20,591
Charges and expenses for the year ended 31st December, 1863	
	45,992

Since this report was published, a very full return, moved for by Mr. Baines, has been laid before Parliament. This brings the information down to the end of March last. An abstract taken from this paper follows:—

	Number of Depositors' Accounts	Dep	Deposits.		Withdrawals.		
	open on the 31st March, 1864.	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.	remaining at Credit of Depositors' Accounts.	
England Wales	327,346 11,551	1,556,202 65,420	£ 5,352,250 174,325	315,595 8,964	£ 1,652,074 53,295	£ 3,700,176 121,029	
England and Wales	338,897	1,621,622	5,526,575	324,559	1,705,369	3,821,205	
Islands Scotland Ireland	736 18,683 14,639	3,797 91,386 78,369	10,829 168,444 249,926	579 16,126 16,212	3,230 60,512 89,170	7,598 107,931 160,756	
Total	372,955	1,795,174	5,955,774	357,476	1,858,282	4,097,492	

III .- Strikes in the Manufacturing Districts.

The history of Strikes continues to be the history of hopeless struggles, engendered of that ignorance of the plainest economic laws which the working classes of this country usually betray when they engage in these wasteful conflicts. The narrative of the recent Staffordshire Strike is written by one of the correspondents of the Manchester Guardian, and appeared in that paper upon the 26th October last; and the extracts which follow it have been taken from letters to the Manchester City Press, written by Dr. John Watts:—

"Much confusion exists in the minds of many persons as to the cause of this strike. During last winter the trade of South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire in coal and iron improved very rapidly, and the masters at once put up the

^{*} This sum does not include the allowances to postmasters, letter-receivers, and others, for conducting savings bank business during the year ending 31st December, 1863, the rate of remuneration not being finally settled.

prices of their respective commodities. Three advances took place in the price of thick coal, making a total rise of 3s. a ton. Following the usual custom, wages were increased 6d. a-day simultaneously with each rise of 1s. a ton in coal. The first advance took place in September, and the second in October of last year. The third occurred in January of this year, when the price of thick coal stood at 11s. a ton, and wages at 5s. a-day; thin coal 10s. a ton, and wages 3s. 6d. At this level coal and wages stood, until a little beyond the middle of last June, when it was found that the market would no longer bear such high rates, and that iron also must come down. In consequence, notice was given to the workers in thick coal, announcing that their wages would be brought back to the point at which they stood before the rise in January, namely—thick-coal workers, 4s. 6d., and thincoal workers, 3s. 3d. At the same time the price of thick coal was declared down 1s. and thin coal 1s.—making the former 1os. and the latter 9s. a ton. Simultaneously, also, by the independent action of one firm (Mr. W. O. Foster, M.P.), known by the trading title of John Bradley and Co., finished iron was declared down 11. a ton; and Mr. Foster was enabled to take this course because certain of the pig makers had also reduced the price of the raw material. It had always been customary for the wages of the miners to follow the direction taken by the prices of finished iron, in the proportions, for the workers in the thick and thin coal respectively, which we have just given.

"It had, however, been the usual practice to reduce at the same time the wages of the puddlers, rollers, and others employed in the making of finished iron, in the proportion of 1s. a ton with every fall of 1l. in finished iron. This practice was not adopted on this occasion. Notice for a reduction in wages was given to the miners, but no notice was given to the ironworkers. This was thought to be the more extraordinary, inasmuch as the proportion between the wages of the ironworkers and the price of iron had recently gone up 1s. a ton in favour of the men. They would now, therefore, be left with an advantage of 2s. a ton, whilst it was proposed that the miners' wages should be kept rigidly within the rule which had long prevailed. At the time high prices were being obtained for coal supplied to the domestic market and to the hardware manufacturers in Birmingham and elsewhere. Further, the men asked why the masters could not as well afford to give 5s. a-day now as in 1848, when coal was, they said, selling at as low a figure as now. It was further maintained that if the masters, while able to afford the loss of the ironworkers' 1s., were not able to afford the additional loss of the colliers' 6d. and 3d. respectively, they ought in strict justice to have spread the reduction of the two smaller sums over both trades, and not to have confined it solely to one, and that the poorer of the two. Complaints were made of hardships to which they were exposed, arising out of the method of getting the coal by charter-masters, locally termed 'butties.' Many of these men keep beer-houses or public-houses and provision shops, and require their men to trade with them. Certain of these practices, it is alleged, are winked at by the masters. All these circumstances were discussed at the different Union lodges of the men, and the thick-coal workers resolved that they would not consent to the new terms which their masters proposed.

On the 4th of July, just six years after they came out at the last general strike in 1858, the fortnight's notice that the masters had given them was up, and the thick-coal men all turned out. For a time they were joined by the working engineers and by the men employed at the blast furnaces in the making of pig iron, but these, after a short struggle, gave up the contest, and resumed on the reduced terms, which were a reduction of 10 per cent. The thin-coal workers in the Bilston and Wolver-hampton districts did not at first join the movement, for they accepted the reduction and were at work, when, by repeated entreaties on the part of the thick-coal men, they too were induced to come out, some of them without giving notice. This naturally led to magisterial proceedings, and the thin-coal men ultimately all went in, and gave notice. On the expiration of that notice they all came out; but they did not remain out more than a week, and three-fourths of them are now at work on masters' terms. There are, however, many thin-coal men in the Brierley Hill district who remain on strike. It will therefore be seen, that the thick-coal men were the

first to object to the terms which the masters offered; and the objection became most powerfully displayed among the men who were employed in the domestic trade at West Bromwich, and in the general trade about Dudley and Tipton. In the two latter districts the chief employer is the Earl of Dudley. Other masters took a similar course; and, seeing that the men intended to stoutly contest the point, they began at once to make arrangements for getting supplies of coal, for carrying on the pig iron and the finished iron works respectively, from other districts. Lancashire, Derbyshire, North Staffordshire, and North and South Wales were at once applied to. The application met with a ready response, and so great was the demand that every description of waggon had to be used in which to bring the coal from those districts. The railway companies were ready to run as many special trains as the ordinary traffic would allow, and soon the enormous quantity of 10,000 tons of coal were being brought into Staffordshire every day. The Strike Committee attempted to cut off the supplies by sending delegates into the districts we have named, with a view to induce the colliers to refuse to get coal to be used in an attempt to defeat the men in Staffordshire. But the attempt was unsuccessful. The colliers at a distance did not believe that they had a right to dictate to their masters as to what market they should send their coal to, but were ready to contribute to the support of their brethren on strike. Simultaneously with this refusal on the part of the colliers at a distance, there were evidences at home of a want of unanimity. Men who felt that their masters would ultimately win the day returned to work in small numbers throughout the whole of the district. There were 30,000 out when the strike was at its height in the middle of September, but that number had fallen to about 18,000 in the middle of this month. To prevent these from going to work, morning meetings, at between four and five o'clock, were determined upon, and thence detachments moved off in different directions, headed by drums and whistles. Wherever men were met on the road going to work they were sure to be prevented from going down that day. Usually it did not require much persuasion to bring about such a result, but when that failed other means of a less agreeable character were resorted to, and when men succeeded in getting to work unobserved, they were met as they returned, and assailed with the usual epithets of 'black-leg,' and the like, the presence of the police as their guard notwithstanding. A few of the more desperate resorted, for the first time in the history of a colliers' strike in Staffordshire, to the throwing of rough hand grenades into the houses of a few of the men who had gone to work. As the threats became more and more vehement, the police had to interfere at the morning meetings, and such gatherings are now prohibited. As a result, the number of men who are going in is increasing, encouraged as they are by the presence of two troops of Lancers in the district; who, headed by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and by the stipendiary magistrate for South Staffordshire, made a second circuit of the leading roads round Dudley and Kingswinford yesterday morning, when a serious attack had been threatened upon some of the pitmen who have resumed work. The determination of the masters to defeat this combination is shown in the fact, that where they have to carry on their works with coal broughtfrom a distance, they are paying between 4s.6d. and 5s. more per ton than for the coal of their own district. This is brought about not so much by the difference in the price per ton, as in the difference in the weight at which the coal of both districts is respectively sold. In South Staffordshire the coal is sold in 'boats long weight,' and boats that are gauged to hold 22 tons not unfrequently carry from 24 to 29 tons, yet the buyer pays for only 22 tons. Nor is the 'butty' or the colliery proprietor paid for more; and, notwithstanding the flagrant injustice of th practice, no stand has yet been made against it by the colliery proprietors as a class. All the coal brought by railway is bought 'short weight.' The great extra cost or making iron in South Staffordshire which results from using the coal of other districts will be seen more clearly when we state that, at the lowest computation, 21 tons of coal are required to make 1 ton of pig iron, and another $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons to convert that pig-iron into finished iron. Many of the ironmasters are, however, getting some little coal from their own district, and so are reducing the serious difference which would otherwise exist."

The following extracts have been taken from the Manchester City Press, to which a series of letters has been recently addressed by Dr. John Watts, under the title of "Trades' Unions and Strikes." That gentleman has sedulously laboured for some years to expose the ruinous proceedings followed by working men in the manufacturing districts to enforce their own views upon the masters in trade disputes; and everything which comes from his pen upon these topics is well deserving of attention.

The first illustration of the wastefulness of strikes, which Dr. Watts brings forward in his recent letters, is that at the building of the new prison, Manchester. It arose out of an alleged infringement of trade regulations on the part of the master's foreman:—

"The dispute commenced on the 11th of April, and on the 18th of June the bricklayers' society issued an advertisement to justify its own proceedings, and expressed a hope that their explanation would 'bespeak public sympathy and support.' The explanation of the bricklayers ends thus: 'While condemning every act of despotism or unwarrantable tyranny on the part either of employers or employes (friends or foes), we are yet determined to exhaust our every resource and unquestionable power in order to achieve the legitimate objects of our organisation, and preserve intact the true interests and privileges of our members, which are the indisputable interests of the working men of England.' Not being in possession of the rules of the bricklayers' society, we cannot, of course, say whether its objects are legitimate, but if the rules sanction the present proceedings, we have no hesitation in saying that they are very contrary to the interests of working men.

"In this case there have been only two matters in dispute—the question whether the employer, who engages and pays the labourers, shall assign their places at the work, and whether bricks shall be carried on men's shoulders or wheeled in barrows; and these two questions, as it seems to us, resolve themselves into one, and that one whether, by keeping up a full supply of material and by keen oversight, it is possible to get a little more than ordinary work per day accomplished."

The following is Dr. Watts' account of the pecuniary sacrifice which the men inflicted upon themselves by this strike:—

	£	s.	d.
14 bricklayers have been out of employ for 13 weeks, whose wages would amount, at 33s. per week, to	300	6	-
16 labourers, at 218	218	8	_
59 joiners, at 28s. for 7 weeks	573	4	-
And they have been supported at an expense to their various societies of not less than	300	-	-
Total 1	.201	18	

"They have cost the contractor a large sum in loss of time, and much more to supply their places; and now they have to go and seek work elsewhere, thus doubling the expense at which their places have been supplied. A reasonable estimate of the money loss makes it not less than 1,800l."

The "Leeds and Low Moor Lock-out" occurred in the iron trade; upon the fiscal loss of this struggle Dr. Watts remarks:—

"Now, let us direct attention to the pecuniary costs of this struggle, which has lasted twelve weeks. We are told that the persons engaged at Low Moor were 750, at Bowling 350, and at each of the other three places upwards of 150 each, making a gross total of 1,560. We are also told that hammermen earn from 2l. to 3l. per

week, and their labourers from \$s. to 16s. each; that puddlers earn from 3cs. to 5cs., and middle hands 18s., and boys from 7s. to 8s. each; that relling mill men carn from 3cs. to 8cs. each per week. We are told that the Bowling men averaged from 5cs. to 5ss. each per week all round, and youths about 12s. The balance-sheet issued by the workmen up to 25th June states 936 men as then in receipt of relief. Let us assume the average wages at 28s., and we shall get the following result:—

	£	8.	d.
936 men, at 28s. per week for 12 weeks	15,764	16	_
Contributions from unions and the public to June 25th	6,746	2	31/2
Allow same proportion to July 16th	2,248	14	1
Workmens' loss up to date, being 2,063l. 6s. per week	24,759	12	41/2
Loss to employers, assuming capital at 150l. per man, at 20 per cent. per annum, one fourth of a year to date	7,200	-	-
Loss to shopkeepers on 15,764l. 16s. at 20 per cent gross	3,152	19	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto on three-fourths of proprietors' profits	1,080	_	-
Total immediate loss to society (being 3,016l. per week so long as the strike lasts)	36,192	11	63*

Add to this the loss to the future employment fund, being one-fourth of proprictors' profits (1,800l.), which is equal to the employment of 12 men for ever, and would pay 28s. per week wages each, which sum, capitalised at twenty years' purchase, is 17,472l. further loss to the workmen. The same process applied to one-fourth of shopkeepers' profits (which, if saved, would also increase the employment fund), gives for result 10,192l., making a total future loss of 27,664l. Or, put in another form, the proportion of lost profits which must have gone to the future employment fund is, in twelve weeks, equal to the permanent employment of nine-teen men; and therefore every week of the strike lessens the demand for workmen by one seven-twelfths for ever. We need not pursue the calculation further. We know it is much below the mark, but the above loss is surely sufficient to put to the debit of John Marshall (the man whose folly caused the strike), who we see is not much less important than his namesake's (the great flax spinners of Leeds), although his results occupy a different side of the ledger, and people will not bless him for his work.

"But the serious man will not rest here; but will follow out the consequences to the colliers and iron-miners thrown idle by the lessened demand for their labour; and to the consequent reductions in wages and the strikes in those departments; and to the lessened demand for all textile fabrics to clothe the people thus thrown idle, until he will get an exemplification of the fact that any act, whether good or evil, exercises an influence wide as the world, and long as time. And if these men leave the country, the public loss goes on until another set of men have completed their education at the iron manufacture, and can efficiently supply the vacated places. If we had any influence with the employers we would beg of them to withdraw the 'hated declaration,' and to trust to other arguments to reform the workmen's trade societies; and, in the meantime, we beg to assure them that, whatever other success they may achieve, they will not get what they now aim at, however long the contest lasts."

With regard to the great lock-out of the Yorkshire colliers, Dr. Watts has furnished particulars of the men's loss in wages in detail. Thus:—

^{*} This strike lasted about 18 weeks, and therefore cost nearly 50 per cent. more than the total above named.

Losses by the Colliers' Strike and Lock-out.

Workmen's Losses.						
	£	s.	d.	£	3.	d.
504 men, 23 weeks, at 22s. per week	12,751	4	_			
223 youths, 23 weeks, at 9s. per week	2,308	1				
2,736 men, 18 weeks, at 22s. per week	54,172	16	_			
1,210 youths, 18 weeks, at 9s. per week		-	-			
Subscriptions—Societies and Public.				79,033	1	
504 men, 23 weeks, at 5s. per week	2,898	_	_			
2,736 men, 18 weeks, at 5s. per week			_			
				15,210	-	
${\it Employers'}$ Losses.						
Capital, at 100l. per workman, 394,600l., 18 weeks, at 15 per cent. per annum	20,488	16	9			
72,700l., at 5 per cent. per annum	1,048	11	1			
Rent and other payments out of capital, say 19 weeks, at 5 per cent. per annum	7,209	-	9			
				28,746	8	7
Shopkeepers' Losses.						
On workmen's wages, at 15 per cent. gross	11,855	_	-			
On three-quarters of employers' lost profits			_			
				14,277	19	-
Public Loss by Artificial Price of Coals.					-	
272 getters, at 15 tons each per week, 23 weeks, being 93,840 tons, say at 3d. per ton	1,092	_				
1,480 getters, 18 weeks, 399,600 tons, at 3d. per ton	4,995	-				
•				6,087	-	_
				143,354	8	7

"The above figures may admit of some modification, but not to lessen the total. They are based on Mr. J. Holmes' paper on the Yorkshire Strike and Lock-out, read at the Social Science Meeting, 1859; the numbers of men being increased in accordance with the increased trade, as shown in the reports of the colliery inspector. We have assumed the wages of men 2s. and of youths 1s. per week less than given by Mr. Holmes, and have taken his proportions of men and youths employed. We applied to the workmen for facts, but learned through a friend that they were too busy finding food for hungry women and children to attend to the collection of statistics. Now that the lock-out has terminated, and left them only the workpeople of the Oaks and High Royd colleries to provide for, probably a commentary on our statement will enable us to test its accuracy; meanwhile it will illustrate our principle. Society has lost 143,000 l. experimenting on the possibility of securing 10 per cent. more out of the results of combined capital and labour to the workmen. Nineteen weeks' wages and profits are gone in the attempt to get onetenth more per week! Three years and forty-four weeks to work at the improved rate, if it had been secured, before there would have been a single penny gained! Where will hundreds of those workmen be before that time has elapsed? How many changes will have occurred to alter the state of the labour market and the rate of wages before that time? Wages were altered in 1853, and again in 1854, in the district of the lock-out. They then rested until 1858, when an attempted reduction of 15 per cent. produced a strike, which lasted from 3rd April till 7th October, and a lock-out from that time till the end of November. There was a six weeks' strike in the Methley district in 1862, and a lock-out of sixteen weeks, affecting about 1,500 men and youths, from June to November, 1863, followed by the present lock-out and strike of 23 weeks. Four general modifications of wages in eleven years, or one alteration in every two years and nine months on an average. Is it not clear that if the present strike had been won instead of lost, even winning would have been losing? If the future compares with the past, there would be another alteration above a year before the raised wages would make up the loss, without any reckoning for interest. But the battle is lost. The Oaks and High Royd pits are filled sufficiently for the present purposes of the employers, and the nett immediate results to the workmen are 79,000l. lost wages, 23 men and one woman in prison, and some hundreds of men left to wander the country in search of employment; wives and children are in rags; the shop scores will necessitate dearer goods for years to come, and in many cases death alone will pay the debts; whilst half a year of schooling in the streets will have done irremediable evil to the children. We do not expatiate on the losses of the masters, for capital can take care of itself; but we say boldly that this game of social warfare is a hazard which the workman cannot afford to play, for the odds are fearfully against him. First, he loses his present wages, and is reduced from independence to beggary, and thus loses his character also; then he injures his employers and the tradesmen with whom he deals, and these injuries return again upon himself. In this struggle, the employers and shopkeepers have lost 43,024l. Now, apart from this lock-out, it is probable that one-fourth of this amount would have been saved and added to the permanent working capital of the country, and in that case, at 100l. per man, would either have called into employment 94 additional workmen, or would have increased the competition amongst the employers for existing men, and thus have given a fair chance for a rise of wages. So that beyond the present loss to the workmen, the demand for 'hands' is less by 94 now and for ever than it would have been if the strike had not occurred."

Dr. Watts concludes the statistical portion of his labours with an account of the strike at the Durham Colleries in 1863-64, followed by a compendious summary of the losses entailed in this and the other conflicts which he has recently criticised.

Hunwick, West Hartlepool.—" One third of the men at this pit were thrown out by a rise in the floor of the pit, and refused to work in relays with the others, except at an extra price of 2d. per ton (afterwards reduced to 1d. per ton); they were offered 6d. per score (about three farthings per ton), but declined it. Fresh places were found for them at old prices, and they still refused to work because two men who had formed a deputation to the manager had been discharged. These two found work elsewhere, and after ten days' idleness, and the loss of some 30s. per man, they returned to work."

Staffordshire Colliers.*—"On 23rd May about 1,500 colliers near Wolverhampton struck against a reduction of 3d. per day (about 7d per cent.), and we believe

Let us assume 10 weeks for the whole number. Then-

6,932 men, at 22s. per week, for ten weeks	#5 76,252
3,068 youths, at 9s. ,, ,,	13,806
Employers' loss, 100l. per man, eight weeks, at 15 per cent	23,076
Shopkeepers' losses on wages and three-fourths profits, 15 per cent.	16,104
	129,238

without reckoning for subscriptions to the men or loss to the public by extra price of coal.

^{*} This strike increased in proportions to about 10,000 men, and lasted about four months, when they returned to work on the masters' terms.

they still remain out. If the strike was settled in favour of the men to-day, they would have to work 120 weeks to replace their present loss; but as the principal demand for coal is for the manufacture of iron, which is 10s. per ton lower than in January last, and in which trade there is also a pending strike against reduction, the chance for success is small indeed."

Wolverhampton Builders.—"On 20th June, the bricklayers' labourers were locked out on a demand for a rise of 2s. per week, and as the bricklayers refused to work with non-society labourers, they also came to a stand. We have not heard of any termination of the strike, and assuming the total number of men at 500, in a population of upwards of 100,000, and the average wages at 22s. each per week, the loss to society up to date will be 5,270l.

"Besides the strikes and lock-outs dealt with in our former articles and those above enumerated, there have been during the first seven months of this year strikes of the joiners at Liverpool and Huddersfield, the bricklayers at Stockton, the ironmoulders at Stockport, the wheelwrights and blacksmiths at Oldham, and of weavers at one or two mills at Blackburn, Of these we have not learned particulars, except of the joiners' strike at Huddersfield, which, tested by results, seems to have been the most sensible of all; for we are told that 140 men have left the town and got work elsewhere, leaving only ten men chargeable on the funds. The strike was for a reduction in the hours of labour from 58½ to 52½ per week, a little over ten per cent. in time, which is equal to 10 per cent. rise in money, so far as the employers are concerned. Now, if the 140 men who have left Huddersfield have gone direct into employment elsewhere on the improved terms, they have practically secured their object without a strike, and thereby proved the reasonableness of the demand. The element of folly is reduced to the ten men who remain chargeable, and who ought either to have followed the example of the 140, or to have remained at work The difference in the effect upon the employers between the loss of 140 and 150 men would have been inappreciable, and the wages of ten men and the society's contribution would have been saved. We propose now to sum up the debit of seven months, so far as it has come under our observation, and we direct attention to the following table, which is modelled upon the plan illustrated and explained in previous articles :-

Manchester New Prison.

To the attempt to settle which labourer should head the procession, and whether bricks should be carried or wheeled }

(To which sum add the capital necessary to employ 1½ men and their increase for ever.)

£ s. d.

Leeds and Low Moor Lock-out.

To pay for the zeal of John Marshall in hunting up grievances ... 36,192 11 6 (And the employment for 12 men and their increase for ever.)

The South Yorkshire Colliers.

The Durham Colliers.

North Stafford Colliers and Ironstone Getters.			
To resistance to reduction and demand for increase of 12½ per cent. payment on account	£ 15,488	s. -	d. -
Northop Hall Colliers.			
To the gain of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in wages	3,059	7	-
Newcastle Painters.			
To a lost strike for 12½ per cent, rise	3,212	-	-
South Staffordshire Colliers.			
To resistance to 7½ per cent. reduction, payment on account (And the employment for 17 men and their increase for ever.)	52,746	13	-
Wolverhampton Bricklayers and Labourers.			
To a strike for 11 per cent. rise to the bricklayers' labourers, payment on account	5,270	5	-
	284,978	6	_

"In round numbers, society has lost, from causes immediately within view, 285,000l. in seven months, and the future demand for labour is lessened by 175 men and their natural increase for ever, in these foolish disputes about the proportion in which the results of the application of labour and capital shall be divided.

"If the above picture be not attractive enough for working men, let us try another. The struggles alluded to in our former articles have involved 10,478 men and youths for an average of fifteen weeks, and have cost the nation directly One-half of this sum would have been paid in wages if the men had remained at work. Now, suppose it had been possible for the men to have continued at work-to have made the same sacrifices for economy which they have made to the folly of strikes—then these 10,478 workmen would, in fifteen weeks, have accumulated a fund which, at 100l. per head, would have given permanent employment at average wages to 1,425 men; and assuming profits to average 15 per cent., would have given them also 21,375 per annum in addition to their wages; or enough to add 214 men annually to the list of those who would thus have become their own employers. And this is the proper view for working men to take of the cost of a strike; ten thousand five hundred men in fifteen weeks voluntarily and recklessly throw away the independence of 1,425 men at once, together with the addition of 214 men annually for ever, simply because they are not pleased with their masters. And yet they imagine it possible to snatch an advantage thereby. It is a frenzy equalled only by that of the victim who throws himself under the car of Juggernaut to be crushed to death to please God, but is without the excuse arising from religious phrenzy, and without a shadow of advantage in any way."

IV .- The Cost of the Cotton Famine in Relief to the Poor.

The Manchester Guardian has very recently shown, from documents published by the Central Relief Committee, the extraordinary expenditure for maintaining the operatives and their families during two and a half years of the distress. The principal portion of that article is here reprinted:—

"Mr. Maclure has performed a public service by issuing a very complete statement of the sums expended from the poor rates and from public subscriptions, in the cotton manufacturing districts, during the four parochial years ending at Ladyday last. We can now give something like a satisfactory answer to the question so often asked—What has been the entire cost of supporting the operatives in Lancashire through the famine? At least, for two years and a half, or so, of the distress. Beyond the in-maintenance and out-door relief administered by the guardians, Mr. Maclure informs us that there are other charges which go to make up the sum termed in the official accounts 'relief to the poor,' such as the maintenance of paupers in lunatic asylums; repayment of workhouse loan, salaries of officers, and other purposes immediately connected with relief. Remembering this, the whole charitable expenditure during the four years can be shown thus, for the twenty-eight distressed unions:—

Year ended Lady-day.					Total Expenditure.
1861—]	Relief	to the	poor		313,135
'62		,,	***************************************	***************************************	355,160
'63		,,	***************************************	£823,788	
]	Expen	ded by	local committees	809,167	
		-			1,632,955
1864—]	Relief	to the	poor	758,980	
	,,	comm	ittees	563,287	
					1,322,267

The figures tell us that the maximum distress was attained in the parochial year 1863, which exceeded the following year, comparing the expenditure from both sources, by 310,000*l*.

"A more precise measure of the distress is obtained by using the figures which represent the cost of personal relief, i.e., of supporting the poor in the workhouse, or in assisting them at their own abodes, because these charges fluctuate directly with the number of recipients. This personal relief, so to speak, and the sums distributed to the poor by the local relief committees, Mr. Maclure has exhibited in his fifth table for each union. With respect to fiscal pressure, the unions fall conveniently into three sections: -Two, Ashton-under-Lyne and Glossop, forming the first and most burdened; seven, Preston, Blackburn, Stockport, Haslingden, Oldham, Rochdale, and Burnley, constituting the second; and the remaining nineteen the third and least burdened section. On this principle the following table has been com-The year 1861, being entirely free of the cotton famine, is taken as a standard or average year; 1862 follows; the distress raised the guardians' expenditure 40,000l. over 1861; in 1863 and 1864 the relief committees were in operation, and the excess of those years, 1,288,000l. and 950,000l., is supplied from the rates and from private charity; the total excess for the three years being no ess than 2,277,000l.

	Expended for In and Out-door Relief.	Excess of Expenditure over the Amount of 1861.				
	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	Total.	
First Section of Unions:	£	£	£	£	£	
Ashton-under-Lyne	6,341	2,089	194,487	174,240	370,816	
Glossop	1,089	350	28,211	43,180	71,741	
Second Section of Unions:				,		
Preston Blackburn Stockport Haslingden Oldham Rochdale Burnley Third Section of Unions: Manchester Wigan Todmorden Chorley Salford	12,312	7,277	129,221	102,937	239,435	
	9,247	4,578	107,244	58,456	170,278	
	6,555	2,355	93,128	67,626	163,109	
	3,627	555	46,907	24,449	71,911	
	7,976	1,238	67,155	47,867	116,260	
	8,674	1,439	76,851	48,492	126,782	
	6,149	751	46,024	15,910	62,685	
	28,878	8,871	164,582	84,808	258,261	
	9,146	561	49,188	41,878	91,627	
	3,417	170	15,614	9,186	24,970	
	4,414	1793	22,584	14,656	13,033	
	9,057	1,882	44,386	31,709	77,977	
Warringtou	5,864	736	4,612	2,896	8,244	
	8,351	990	41,535	53,619	96,153	
	11,142	600	58,536	59,746	118,882	
Bolton Macclesfield Saddleworth Barton-upon-Irwell	12,198	1,416	32,952	29,487	63,855	
	8,197	1,828	15,943	8,455	26,226	
	1,382	140	4,159	5,331	9,630	
	3,411	215	9,792	3,645	13,652	
Clitheroe Prestwich Skipton Leigh	2,799	173*	5,186	2,095	7,281	
	2,210	465	12,924	9,029	22,418	
	6,503	534	5,138	1,845	7,517	
	3,216	245	4,942	3,110	8,297	
Lancaster	3,354	30*	3,146	1,998	5,144	
	2,356	140	1,169	1,126	2,435	
	3,236	197	1,981	1,768	3,946	

^{*} Less.

Note.—In 1863 and 1864, the local committees' expenditure is added to the maintenance and out-door relief by the guardians.

[&]quot;Mr. Maclure has computed for the first four tables of his report the rate in the pound of the guardians' expenditure on in-door and out-door relief, and in addition for 1863 and 1864 the rate, upon the same basis (the parochial assessments of 1861), of the expenditure of the local relief committees. By this method we ascertain the pressure which has been removed from the ratepayers by the public subscriptions, on the supposition that the whole sum could have been raised from the rates

[&]quot;In the subjoined list the unions are placed according to the rate attained in the maximum year 1863. In two unions the rate exceeded 10s in the pound; in nine it ranged between 5s and 10s; and in ninetecn under 5s; the lowest being only 10\frac{1}{2}d. The assessment of each union is set out in Lir. Maclure's report with a total of 6,030,000l. We believe this amount is by no means exaggerated. In some of

the new valuations we observe the sums are over those here given. For example, the Fylde union is 24,000l., and the Warrington union 26,000l. beyond the figures upon which Mr. Maclure's ratios are calculated. Though 1862 felt the incipient calamity of the cotton famine, it was not sufficiently marked to destroy it as a standard year, for which purpose it is employed in the next table.

Rate in the Pound of Guardians' Expenditure for In and Out-door Relief, and of Local Committees' Disbursements.

	1862.	1863.	1864.
Two Unions over 10s. in the pound: Ashton-under-Lyne	$\begin{array}{ccc} s. & d. \\ - & 6\frac{3}{8} \\ - & 6\frac{1}{2} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	s. d. 11 6 16 7
Seven Unions over 5s. and under 10s. in the pound: Preston	1 2 1 8 7 8 7 8 9 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	8 6	6 114 4 1132 6 183 3 1078 4 118 4 618 2 478
Nineteen Unions under 5s. in the pound: Manchester	- 18 98 70 68 9 - 6 6 6 3 - 7 7 8 7	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	2 9 1 4 3 1 9 1 2 1 4 4 7 8 8 8 8 1 1 2 2 1 1 2 2 1 1 2 2

[&]quot;The expenditure of 1862 was entirely defrayed by the rates, and that of 1863 and 1864 by the local relief committees as well as the rates. Looking to the rates in the pound during the two famine years in separate unions, we notice that the proportionate alleviation to the ratepayer greatly varies. In the eight unions named below the proportion obtained from voluntary funds exceeds one-half in all cases, and in some approaches two-thirds of the full rate, taken upon an average of the two years.

The Average Rate in the Pound for In-door and Out-door Relief, and for the Local Committees' Disbursements in 1863 and 1864.

	Average Rate in the Pound from both sources.	Whereof was the Rate in the Pound of Voluntary Disbursements.
Glossop	$egin{array}{ccc} 7 & 1rac{1}{4} \ 6 & 9 \ 7 & 9 \ 5 & 9rac{3}{8} \end{array}$	s. d. 8 $8\frac{1}{4}$ 8 $-\frac{3}{8}$ 5 $-\frac{1}{8}$ 4 $2\frac{1}{2}$ 3 II 3 $5\frac{1}{2}$ 3 2 2 $7\frac{1}{2}$

[&]quot;The rate in the pound for the 'relief of the poor,' which is administered by the boards of guardians during the famine, is thus given for each year:—

1861 1 '62 1 '63 2	Excess over the Rate of 1861. d. s. d
--	--

[&]quot;Under this aspect, the rates over the whole district were 175 per cent. higher iu 1863, and 150 per cent. in 1864, than in 1861. These measure the increased liabilities of the ratepayers arising from the distres",

"The excess for the half-year ended at Michaelmas last is estimated at 300,000l.; this, added to the sums for which there are actual returns, makes, in the words of the report, 'a total excess of expenditure of 2,577,372l. in the three years and six months during which the present exceptional state of distress has continued.' Besides this, it is stated upon estimate, 'that no less a sum than 220,000l. was locally distributed in private charity, beyond the large amount voluntarily remitted by manufacturers and property owners for cottage rents.' We may, therefore, consider that up to the present time the support of the poor thrown by the American war upon charity for their daily maintenance has caused an outlay of three millions sterling."

In connexion with the expenditure for the support of the distressed during the cotton famine, the state of the Savings Banks accounts of Lancashire may be examined:—

Year e 20th Nov	 Amount Due to Depositors at the end of each Year.
'61 '62	 £ 4,084,772 4,125,151 3,852,003 3,842,891

But in comparing the two last years with the two first, the operations of the Post Office Savings Banks must not be overlooked. These are the figures with respect to Lancashire:—

Years ended 31st March.	Number of Depositors.	Amount Due to Depositors at the end of each Year.	·
1863 '64	17,291 22,731	£ 125,602 193,226	

If these amounts be added to the sums in the old banks in 1862-63, it will be found that those years were only on the average, below 1860-61 by 98, 100l. each.

The twenty-eight cotton manufacturing unions contained at the Census of 1861, a population of 2,060,000 souls. The highest degree of pauperism was reached in the first week of December, 1862, when the total number of persons relieved from the poor's rate was 274,860. But the maximum of both classes of recipients, that is to say, those who were relieved from the subscriptions as well as from the rates, was not attained till three or four weeks subsequently, when the total, according to Mr. Maclure's Monthly Report, was 468,610.

From the most recent statement laid before the Central Relief Committee of Manchester, the succeeding table has been abstracted:—

	Number Relieved by Guardians (Out-door) only.	Number Relieved by both Guardians and Local Committees.	Number Relieved by Local Committees only.	Number Relieved by Guardians (In-door) only.	Total Number Relieved.
1863 January 1864	82,156	138,889	235,741	11,824	468,610*
January February March April May June July August September October November	90,730- 89,975 80,387 70,062 63,646 61,648 55,865 56,625 61,083 75,538 79,562	22,965- 40,431 37,288 28,837 19,992 16,495 13,522 11,808 14,475 19,299 17,335	69,657 73,238 64,177 49,730 29,980 22,718 16,523 14,630 16,821 41,431 53,026	12,764 12,604 11,849 11,086 10,641 10,485 10,385 10,298 10,623 11,558	196,116 216,248 193,701 159,715 124,459 111,346 96,295 93,361 103,002 147,826

^{*} Maximum number relieved during the distress.

The distress showed itself early in 1862, and by Easter of that year had assumed very serious dimensions. Four or five of these unions are not in Lancashire; the principal one is Stockport. The cotton factory statistics of Lancashire and Cheshire which follow, have been compiled from a return prepared for Parliament by the inspectors of factories. It relates to the spring of 1861:—

Cotton Factories.	Number.	Number of Spindles.	Number of Power Looms.	Amount of Moving Power.	Total Numbers Employed.
Employed in spinning ,, weaving ,, spin- ning and weaving Other factories	853 590 621 127	12,599,754 — 12,303,891 —	 119,605 219,671 	86,605 14,573 139,205 2,335	91,210 58,289 200,266 6,731
Total	2,191	24,903,645	1,339,276	242,718	356,496

During the latter part of the distress, Mr. Maclure has collected returns of the state of employment in the mills; the results, from July, 1863, to the present time, are given below:—

	Full Work.	Short Time.	Out of Work.*
1863 July	235,827	121,718	178,205
August	242,446	118,900	171,535
September	267,962	104,198	160,835
October	266,401	106,857	154,219
November December	248,824 238,278	$116,615 \\ 116,412$	159,117
1864			
January	210,739	125,856	158,653
July	292,448	67,660	101,568
August	299,229	59,074	102,090
September	212,520	102,047	135,821
October	155,170	125,296	171,568
November	210,554	94,084	153,295

^{*} A large number of these persons are earning considerable, though irregular, wages from out-door and various casual occupations.

In ordinary times the burden of pauperism in the cotton manufacturing district is very light; the usual amount may be taken as 50,000. The number of in-door and out-door paupers on the 1st January, 1861, when the mills were at full work, was 49,156.

In his last report to the Central Relief Committee, Mr. Maclure has shown the ratio of distressed persons, i.e., those relieved by the guardians or by the local relief committees, or by both, for November, 1864 and 1861. The first column of ratios exhibits the proportion of recipients from both sources on the population of the respective unions; the second column that of paupers only, as no other than the ordinary indigence of the district

had to be provided for in 1861. At the present time the distress has shrunk generally to one-third of its maximum amount.

Unions, &c.	Percentage of Distress in November, 1864.	Percentage of Pauperism in November, 1861.	Unions, &c.	Percentage of Distress in November, 1864.	Percentage of Pauperism in November, 1861.
Ashton Barton Blackburn Bolton Burnley Bury Chorley Chorlton Clitheroe The Fylde Garstang Glossop Haslingden Lancaster	3·1 8·3 5·0 8·0 14·9 5·9 3·4 5·5 3·0 6·5 15·4 10·2	1'4 1'7 3'4 2'4 1'9 1'8 3'2 1'2 3'05 2'5 4'6 1'04 1'4 3'8	Leigh	4·9 8·2 11·9 1·9 6·8 5·3 3·4 6·1 9·1	1'9 3'5 2'5 1'5 4'3 2'9 2'2 1'3 2'4 6'7 1'8 2'7 2'6 2'5

Those who had watched the police returns of Lancashire, during the pressure of the cotton famine, must have been gratified, though not surprised, by Mr. Justice Blackburn's remarks at the Manchester assizes.*

In his charge to the grand jury, he observed that—

"The charges which would be brought before the grand jury were certainly lighter in number and quality than he expected they would be. There was one other circumstance he might mention, as it had given him very great pleasure, and he was sure it would be a matter that the grand jury would be glad to hear. The factory operatives of this district had for a considerable time been placed under circumstances of great distress and privation. So far as he had observed the calendar, he had not seen a single charge connected with any of the distressed factory operatives. Though that class had been long suffering, so far as could be perceived by the calendar, no crime had been committed by them, a circumstance which led him to think highly of their respectability. He was prepared beforehand to find them a respectable class; but he nevertheless expected to discover that they had committed a few crimes; he, however, found that they had committed none."

ED. S. J.

^{* 5}th December, 1864.